AUTUMN 1929.] [VOL. X. No. 3.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

AS we go to press we learn with deep regret of the death of the Œcumenical Patriarch, Basil III. His All-Holiness had been ill for a fortnight, but almost to the last good hopes of his recovery were entertained. Indeed, Greek newspapers expressing such hopeful news were received in London after the telegram announcing his death.

Basil III. was called to the Œcumenical Throne at a time of great difficulty and perplexity which called for the exercise of all his great wisdom, tact and administrative skill.

He was born in Constantinople in 1851. After studying theology and philosophy at Athens he became a Professor at the historic Theological School of Halki. A great student, renowned as a Canonist and liturgical scholar, he was intimately acquainted with the great libraries of Athos, the Vatican, Florence, Munich and Leipzig, from which he brought to light a number of hitherto unpublished writings.

For long a valued contributor to *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, the official organ of the Patriarchate of Constantinople he became its editor on his return from Europe in 1884. Five years later he was elected Metropolitan of Anchialos, and in 1896 he became a member of the Holy Synod of Constantinople. As the representative of the latter body he visited Russia for the Coronation of the Emperor Nicholas II. He was further entrusted by the Patriarch Joachim III. with the delicate mission to Cyprus to settle the vexed metropolitical question in that island. Later he was translated to the see of Nicæa, and on the expulsion of the Patriarch Constantine VI., in 1925, he became Œcumenical Patriarch. The four years of Basil III.'s occupancy of the Throne of St. Chrysostom have been marked by his putting into effect the recognition by Constantinople of the autokephaly of the Orthodox Church of Poland, and by the difficult negotiations with the Orthodox of Albania. Although his elevation to the Patriarchate was greeted by the Turkish Press with suspicion and dislike, his All-Holiness has succeeded in maintaining peaceful relations with the Turkish Government during his reign. R.I.P.

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We print below a letter which the Metropolitan Germanos addressed to the Editor of *The Church Times*. The letter is unanswerable: and no less dignified than cogent. We print it with a deep sense of

humiliation as Anglican Churchmen that it should ever have been necessary for His Grace to write such a letter. The Metropolitan Germanos has long been an honoured and loved guest in this country as the official representative of the Chief Bishop of that Communion which was so crudely and ignorantly attacked in *The English Churchman*. We assure His Grace that the importance of the handful of people who would support that attack is not to be measured by the noise they make in an occasional outburst of this kind. The Metropolitan's letter is as follows :—

" Sir,

On the occasion of the cancellation of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury's visit to Jerusalem both *The Church Times* and the other ecclesiastical papers discussed the reasons which necessitated this postponement. But whereas these papers were content to publish the material information without unnecessary comments, *The English Churchmen* profited by the occasion to make insulting references to the Eastern Orthodox Church. May I hope that you will grant the representative of the Orthodox Church in this country room in your columns to reply to, and refute, these references ?

(1) *The English Churchman* cannot be unaware that this Fraternization which was due to take place in Jerusalem between the Primate of England and the heads of the ' corrupted Eastern Churches ' was preceded by another Fraternization four years ago in Westminster Abbey, when the Patriarchs of the East—of Alexandria and Jerusalem—accepted an official invitation from the Anglican Church and took part in the celebration of the sixteenth anniversary of the First Œcumenical Synod of Nicæa. All know that that Fraternization in no way contributed to the concealment of the fundamental differences of doctrine between the two churches. The Declaration of the Orthodox at the Conference of Lausanne, which the Editor of *The English Churchman* must have read, and the declaration of the undersigned at the Cheltenham Congress are sufficient to show that the Orthodox, at any rate, are not so far influenced by external courtesies as to conceal their inner religious convictions. How then would this new Fraternization have led to such a concealment ? That is what, to us at least, is not clear.

(2) If the Orthodox Churches were delighted by the prospect of the visit of the Primate of the Anglican Church, it was not because, being in ' a degraded state,' they thought they would be elevated from this condition by this visit. Their delight is explained if we take into account first, the friendly relations existing, for a considerable number of years, between the leaders of the two Churches, and secondly, the desire of the Orthodox

to return the kindnesses which their leaders met with not long ago on their visit to England. It is only if we take as the measure of respect due to a Church the unfortunate external conditions in which it finds itself—or found itself a little while ago—and which have not allowed of the full development of its vital religious powers (which, through God's grace, have never been extinguished), that the Editor of *The English Churchman* could be justified in calling the Orthodox Churches degraded. But it is only an extremely superficial mind, which, disregarding the inner nature and power of a Church, would deduce its nature from its external condition.

(3) The Editor of *The English Churchman* expresses his delight at the cancellation of this visit inasmuch ' as he looks with indignation upon all Anglo-Catholic attempts to compromise our reformed Church by an unholy alliance with erroneous and corrupt systems.' It is to be noted first of all that whenever, in recent years, discussions have taken place between the representatives of the Orthodox Church and those of the Anglican Church, such discussions were not carried on with members of the Anglo-Catholic party, but with committees appointed either by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the name of the Anglican Church, or by the Lambeth Conference itself, as for instance, the Committee which discussed questions of teaching with the delegates of the Œcumenical Patriarchate in the course of the last Lambeth Conference. Consequently, if there was a question of any compromise whatsoever, such compromise was not on the part of the Anglo-Catholics, but of the whole Anglican Church. But that the Orthodox are the first to reject any kind of compromise is clearly shown by the Lausanne Declaration to which we referred above. Certainly, any alliance between a sound and apostolic teaching and a heretical and corrupt system is unholy. But we would ask ' where is the error and the corruption ? ' Is it in the Church which has preserved intact and unaltered the apostolic tradition, or in the Church which, at any rate in that section represented by *The English Churchman*, has allowed innovations and has strayed from ' the path of truth.' I confess that it would indeed be an unholy alliance if the Orthodox Church agreed to any alliance with such members of the Anglican Church who are the enemies of any Catholic Church.

(4) The joy of the Editor in question will, however, turn to sorrow when he learns that, in spite of the postponement of his visit to Jerusalem, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury visited Athens, and received an official welcome from the Head of the Church of Greece and the Holy Synod in the Cathedral Church, where prayers were said on behalf of the Re-union of the two churches. To add to the Editor's grief, the Archbishop of Athens in his address characterized ' the visit as an altogether exceptional

event, which, without doubt, will mark an important stage in the history of the relations between the two Churches,' while the Archbishop of Canterbury, in spite of the unofficial nature of his visit, in referring to the coming Conference of Lambeth, added that 'he will be glad if, at that Conference, the questions relating to the *rapprochement* of the two Churches are more deeply studied,' and 'that he confidently looks forward to the *rapprochement* of the two Churches, for the benefit of both.' In view of these declarations of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, the insulting remarks which the Editor of *The English Churchman* makes about the Orthodox Church, far from affecting the Orthodox Church and influencing the existing relations between the two Churches, will make all right-thinking members of both Churches more eager to work together to eliminate the points which divide them and to pave the way for a closer understanding between them."

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The opportunity may be taken to emphasize an important point upon which the Metropolitan dwells in the foregoing letter. Attempts are frequently made to treat the Anglo-Orthodox *rapprochement* as a party affair within the Church of England. We are grateful to His Grace for stressing the fact that this is not true. And we on our side speaking for the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, say again as we have said before, that that Association makes its appeal to Anglican Churchmen as such, and not merely to any particular section of them.

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The Œcumenical Patriarchate has often been accused of self-interested reluctance to grant autonomy to the daughter churches as they reached maturity around him. And when difficulties arise in the adjustment of the terms of such autonomy, as in the recent case of Albania, the world hears all about it. But should a case of self-sacrifice for the common good take place quietly and amicably without any friction, it attracts far less attention. Certain districts of Macedonia were surrendered by Turkey to Greece at a later date than others. No corresponding ecclesiastical arrangement was made at the time, and the bishops in these districts were left under the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarch. The latter has now transferred them to the jurisdiction of Athens, an action of which none can doubt the wisdom and practical usefulness, though the Œcumenical Patriarchate is thereby shorn of still more of its former dignity and splendour so far as numbers are concerned. Thus the Synod of the Church of Greece, which has recently assembled, was

composed for the first time of all the Bishops in the territory of the Greek Republic.

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We hear with deep regret of the severe illness of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Our readers are well aware of the burden of care and responsibility which the aged Patriarch has had to shoulder in the difficult years during the latter part of a long and arduous ministry. And there are many who often recall with affection and gratitude his kindly hospitality to those on pilgrimage to the Sacred Sites of which he is the guardian.

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The prayers of many English Churchmen will have been with the venerable Patriarch Dmitri of Yugoslavia, whose state of health has caused his friends much anxiety for some time. He has had to undergo a severe operation, and although he is said to be making a good recovery, it is necessarily a slow process. The Patriarch is well over eighty years of age, and has guided the Serbian Church through all the momentous changes which have befallen Serbia in recent years. When he became Archbishop of Belgrade, the country was still the little kingdom of "Old Serbia," of which most English people realized hardly more than the existence.

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When the Secretary of A. & E.C.A. was visiting Oxford some weeks ago, he made what was to him at any rate a new and very interesting discovery. At St. Barnabas Church there is a seventeenth century Russian Chalice and two Prothesis Dishes which have been in use at the church since its foundation, the two Dishes serving as Patens, though not originally intended for such (the Orthodox Paten always has a foot). We reproduce in this issue a photograph of these very beautiful silver gilt vessels, but unhappily we have been unable to trace how they came to St. Barnarbas, Oxford, all the way from Vologda, which lies some 350 miles east of Leningrad, and has hitherto entered our experience only as a very tedious railway junction! The first Vicar of St. Barnabas, the Rev. M. H. Noel, informs us that the vessels were presented to the church by its founder, Mr. Thomas Combe, in 1869, but how they came into the latter's possession is not known. Fr. Noel had a replica of the Chalice made, so that there might be a Chalice for each "Paten." We are indebted to Mons. Tereshchenko for the following translations of the very difficult inscriptions. Round the foot of the Chalice:—"In the year 7166" (*i.e., from the Creation* = 1658 *A.D.*) "on April 11th this Chalice was constructed for the patrimony of the Prilutsky Monastery, for the Church of the Resurrection of Christ and for Nicholas the Wonder-

worker at Valukh" (*the Monastery and Church are in or near Vologda*). On the bowl of the Chalice :—" Receive the Body of Christ, taste the Immortal Fountain. Alleluia." On the Chalice there is also a group of three medallions and anothe medallion standing alone. With them are the Names of Our Lord, the Theotokos, St. John the Baptist, symbols of the Passion, etc.

Both the Dishes bear the same inscription as the foot of the Chalice, running round the under side of the rim. On the upper surface of the rim one has : " To thy Cross we bow, O Lord, and we glorify thy Holy Resurrection " ; and the other, " All my hope I place in Thee, O Mother of God, preserve me in thy . . . (? protection)." The latter Dish bears an image of Our Lady in the centre, and the former has the Cross.

(*See the photograph facing p.* 102).

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Another photograph in this issue illustrates the back and the front of an embroidered and jewelled Armenian Mitre which is in private possession also in this country. The number of people at hand who can read an Armenian inscription made up of contractions which run on apparently without any break or stop is as may be supposed strictly limited. It was Dr. Tourian, the Armenian Bishop of Manchester, who very courteously supplied us with the following translation : " In Remembrance of Palu, from those settled in Constantinople, this Mitre to the Door of the Most Loving-Kind Holy Virgin. 1199." Dr. Tourian adds the note, " This is a gift from the Paluans settled in Constantinople to the Monastery of the Most Loving-Kind Holy Virgin in Palu. There were three monasteries in Palu, near Kharput, of which this was the most important. The Paluans were famous for their skill in masonry, and especially in constructing the domes that are such a prominent feature of Byzantine architecture. So famous were they that for many years the Sultans had these Paluan masons summoned to Constantinople, to work on the building of their palaces, and so it came about that they settled in Constantinople.

The date 1199 is the Armenian date ; we must therefore add 551 years, which brings the date to 1750 of our present era."

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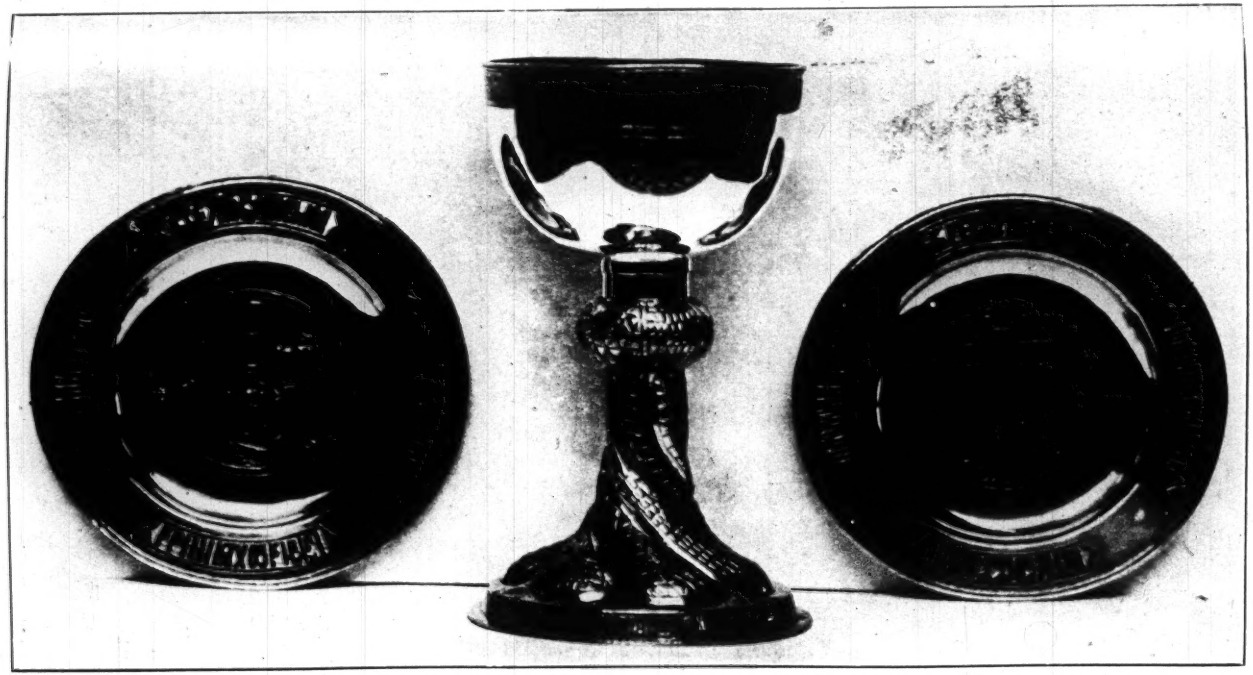
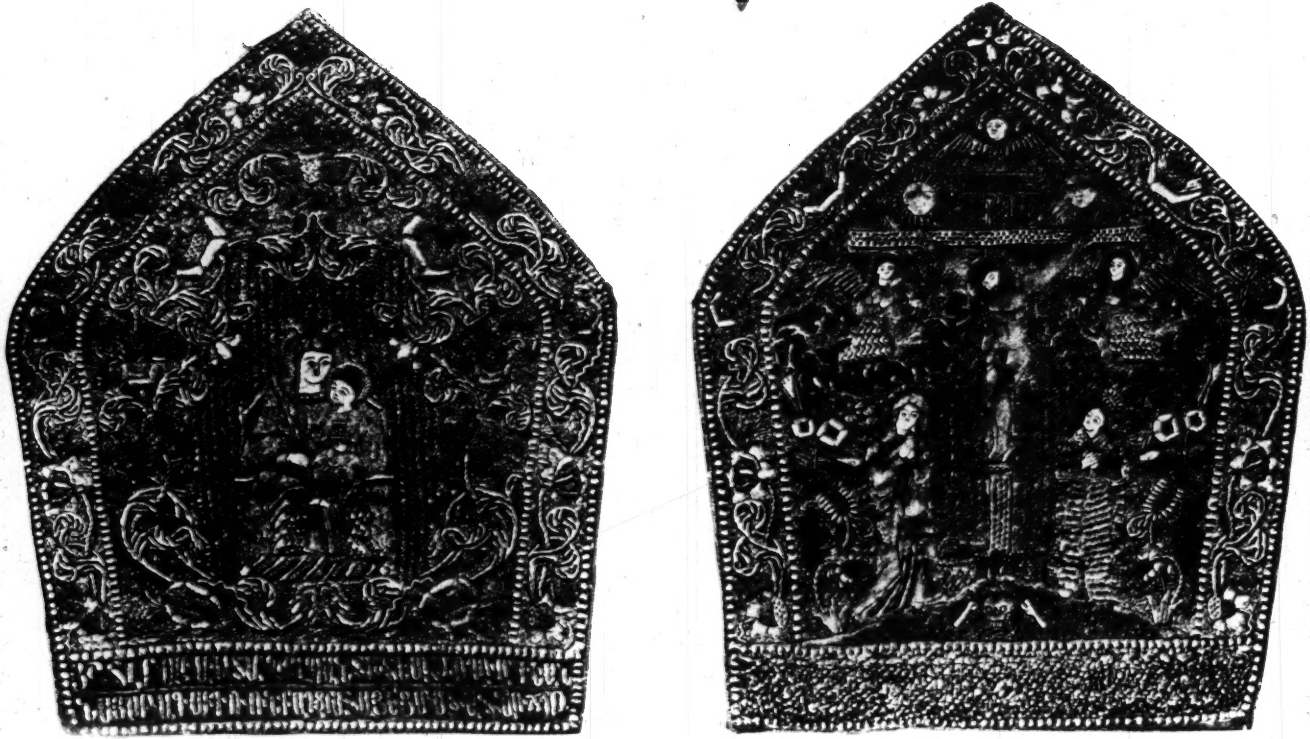
The Armenian Archbishop Thorgom of Alexandria, who for the past seven years, present or absent, has been the most genial of hosts to the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimages, paid a short visit to London in September. The Archbishop has accepted the Armenian Supreme Catholicos' mandate of provisional jurisdiction of all Armenian Communities in Western Europe. A notable personage by his



Russian XVIIth Century Chalice and Prothesis Dishes at St. Barnabas Church, Oxford.

(*See Chronicle and Causerie, p.* 101)



Jewelled Armenian Mitre of the XVIIIth Century

(See Chronicle and Classified, p. 1024)

scholarship and vision, the Archbishop, who will reside in Paris, will be very welcome on the periodical visits which he anticipates paying to London.

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A pastoral letter addressed to his diocese by Beisarion Bishop of Hotin (in Roumania) claims the attention of a much wider circle. He points out that the exigencies of national and political experience have in the past restrained the free expression of the corporate life of Orthodox. He urges that now the various churches which make up the Orthodox Communion should grow more accustomed to the idea of Orthodoxy as one whole, and learn to act as such. The Bishop suspects the Conferences of Stockholm and Lausanne of Pan Protestantism, but he is well alive to the need for Re-union, and thinks that Orthodoxy should welcome advances from both Catholics and Anglicans." The appeal has been warmly taken up by many Orthodox periodicals, such as *Pantainos*, *Ecclesia* and *Orthodoxia*, which print it in full, with approving comments.

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The 6th Conference of the Russian Student Christian Movement in France was held at Clermont-en-Argonne, July 15th–21st, and was attended by about 83 young men and women. Besides these there were present several professors, N. A. Berdyaev, V. V. Zyenkovsky, G. P. Fedotov, B. V. Visheslavtsev, G. Florovsky, three Orthodox priests, Frs. Gillet, Kalashnikov and Tchetverikov, and three English representatives of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, the Rev. L. Patterson, D.D., Rev. L. E. Dashwood, and Mr. G. F. Graham, a theological student of King's College, London. The general programme of the Conference comprised the daily celebration of the Liturgy at 7.30 a.m. and Evensong at 6.30 p.m., and lectures in the morning by the above-named professors, as well as shorter discussions. The Metropolitan Evlogie paid a short visit to the Conference, and gave an address after Evensong on Tuesday, July 16th, and Fr. N. Behr also came over from London. On July 18th (St. Sergius' Day), a meeting of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius was held, and prayers were said in the Chapel, ending with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in Slavonic. The more serious business of the Conference was enlivened by games, bathing, and other forms of recreation, and a most friendly and cordial spirit prevailed throughout the whole week, so that everybody enjoyed themselves thoroughly.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AND HER HISTORY.

By Professor Fedotov.

MY present task is to try to indicate some fundamental facts in the historic life of Orthodoxy, facts the understanding of which is especially difficult for members of other Communions and facts which can give a clue to the correct understanding of the present hour of our Orthodox Church life.

From the very beginning it is necessary to point out that Orthodoxy is not a national nor a local form of Christianity, but as the true Church of Christ it is the Catholic and universal Christianity. Orthodoxy must not be identified with the Greek nor with the Russian Church, nor even with the Christian East in general. Orthodoxy includes also Western Christianity before the great division; it honours among its saints Pope Gregory the Great and Benedict of Nursia; it includes Orthodox Japan, and separate, although not numerous, communities among nearly all nations of the world. These young shoots have not yet brought forth their fruits and flowers. Until the Orthodox Church covers the whole world with her branches, according to the Lord's parable of the mustard-seed, we are unable to estimate all her earthly historical possibilities. In a certain aspect, as the foundation of truth, she remains unchanged from the day of Pentecost. But in the historical process, in her unveiling, she remains as something which is still being realized and never can be realized to its full extent. The Russian nation was one of the last which embraced Orthodoxy. But no one will deny that it has greatly contributed to the Church by its religious genius. Who will venture to forecast what contribution an Orthodox China or an Orthodox India could make to the Church?

In this paper we shall speak, of course, about Orthodoxy in its Eastern, Greek Catholic form. Limiting thus the scope of our subject, we can justly ask the question: how was the limitless fullness of the Catholic Church realized by the Orthodox East? What was preserved by it as the living tradition of Christian life? It is not easy to answer these questions. It is difficult for the majority of us Orthodox to distinguish the national and the modern elements in our Church life from the eternal and Œcumenical. We Russians unfortunately know too little about the modern Christian East to venture a comparison. You foreigners for whom it is easier perhaps to discern the national aspect of Orthodoxy, will hardly be able to estimate the significance of our present experience against the background of our historical past. The religious history of Byzantium has not yet been written. We possess only its scheme. Therefore the statements about Orthodoxy, made both by you and by ourselves,

often contain many commonplaces, half-truths, or even misstatements, repeated from generation to generation. When speaking about the Orthodox Church people almost always forget her growth, her unveiling process, her individualization in the forms of historical cultures and nations. No doubt Orthodoxy is the most traditional form of Christianity. It perceives its main mission in the safeguarding of tradition. Even historians alien from Orthodoxy have to recognize with astonishment the fact that the Church forms—liturgical, mystical and theological created by early Byzantium are still flourishing with us in the twentieth century. The sixth to ninth centuries practically completed the creation of the style of Orthodoxy (as Eastern Christianity) and the following millennium was unable to destroy it. The East—Byzantium and Russia—did not know the middle ages in the western sense of this word. Our Church did not know the centuries of scholasticism, and the patristic period lasted with her even into the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century a Russian ascetic writer, who was summing up in his numerous works the moral teachings of the Philocalia—the classic of monastic Byzantium—was not conscious of the perspective of history. For himself, as well as for his pious readers, he was the authentic expounder of the patristic tradition, standing himself on the soil of the Fathers, beyond time, beyond history. For the modern West Theophanus the Recluse is an impossible phenomenon. In the East millions of Orthodox people would reject as a temptation the very idea of changes in Church life.

And yet changes are creeping in. The style of our ikons, the language of our theological books, in some aspects even the achievements of our saints are changing. And these changes are of a double character. On one side they are the manifestation of decline (conservative Orthodoxy is the last to deny the decay of modern times) on the other side they are the result of growth, of enrichment, of unveiling. Very often growth and decline are going on side by side simultaneously in different spheres of life or even in the same sphere, thus making our appraisement extremely difficult.

I intend to-day to dwell on three fundamental sides of Church life which are nowadays in a state of growth, of revival, and partially of crisis. These sides are—theology, the social message, and spiritual life.

Let us start with theology. In contrast with the eternal immutability of dogmas—although dogmas too are formulated by the Church at successive times—theological thought is always living and developing. The source of the development is not only the necessity of finding ever new arguments for the defence of one and the same Truth (apologetics) but also the perception of new and new sides of this manifold Truth.

Byzantium was not only a land of deep faith and beauty—as such

it is now revealed to the world—but also a land of profound thought. Till the eleventh and twelfth centuries Byzantium undoubtedly excelled the West in all provinces of culture. After the heroic exploits of Western scholastics, the apparent victory in this competition was gained by the West, if we take as a criterion the quantity and the logical complexity of production. However, Byzantium was not yet dead and in the course of the last two centuries of its existence it created a powerful theological school which is not yet sufficiently explored and which overshadows for us Orthodox the schools of Aquinas and Bonaventura. This school is distinguished by its mystical character and its connection with liturgical and spiritual ascetic life. It is carrying on and specifying the ancient platonic ideas of Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor, developing in connection with the new mystical school of ascetics on Mount Athos. Gregory Palama and Nicholas Cubisilos are its main representatives. When the Greek refugees came to Italy after the Turkish invasion, they brought along with them into this land of Renaissance, not only Homer but also Plato—this being a proof of the abiding ancient tradition in the East.

The Turkish invasion sharply interrupted the scientific life as well as the whole civilization of Byzantium. Under the Turkish yoke the Greek Church did not grow poor in holiness, but in cultural and social energy. From that time the Christian life of the East assumes in many aspects a character of decline which astounds not only a Western, but also a Russian observer. This catastrophe of Byzantium (in which we cannot fail to see a divine meaning) has its parallel in the crisis of the Roman Empire which happened a thousand years before. The Eastern Church, too, had her exodus before barbarians, painful because of the break with ancient tradition. In fact these barbarians entered the enclosure of the Greek Church several centuries before the collapse of the Greek Empire; in Russia in particular, four and a half centuries before. This fact, the half-thousand years of training by Orthodox Greece, bred in ancient Russia a deep traditionalism and made impossible the middle ages, *i.e.*, the creation of a new style of Christian culture. On the other hand Russia, as well as Slavonic nations in general, were unable to take on their shoulders the scientific theological inheritance of Byzantium. Hence the deep and fatal hiatus in the onward movement of Eastern theological thought, which remained undistorted but in a state of suspense for several centuries. Old Russia was by no means a country deprived of culture. Her art, religious art—revealed to the world in our days—shows that Russia was able to master the Byzantine inheritance, not as an apprentice, but as a creative artist. But theology was entirely alien to Russian thought till the seventeenth century, if by the term theology we understand religious speculation and not moral practical literature. This amazing inconsistency of

the riches of holiness and of liturgical and artistic achievement with the complete lack of theological development represents one of the greatest puzzles of ancient Russian life.

This childish speechlessness of Russia co-existing with the senile silence of Greece gives a clue to the understanding of the destinies of the new Russian theology. This theology revived in the South-West, in Kiev, *i.e.*, on Roman Catholic Polish ground, under pressure of the necessity of defending the faith against agressive Romanism. But fighting against Rome, Orthodoxy was forced to take from Rome its weapons. At this moment—in the seventeenth century—the late scholastic methods together with the Latin language are penetrating into the Church of Little Russia, and are spreading all over Great Russia, together with Latin Theological schools and the South Russian Bishops. The Latin Theological School existed in Russia till the twenties of the nineteenth century, and its influence has not been overcome at the present time. This does not mean that this influence implanted certain Roman—and thus unorthodox—teachings. Some dangerous tendencies of this sort were soon liquidated in the North. But the system and method of the Latin School of Theology remained, which tried to define Orthodoxy as a middle way between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, by defeating both sides with their own weapons. This procedure escaped the necessity of going deeper into Greek theological tradition (especially its later form) and communicated to theological style a reasonably discursive character shading off into rationalism. At the same time as Russia, Greece also experienced in a considerable degree the influence of Roman Catholic and Protestant Theology, without losing, however, its main Orthodox current. During these last centuries the true spirit of Orthodoxy dwelt more in personal ascetic training and liturgy than in Orthodox thought. The connection with patristic tradition was not interrupted for a single moment in the region of ascetic experience. The Greek classics of asceticism never ceased to be diligently read in Russia. It was these—the moralist mystics—the teachers of spiritual life—who were conceived by the Orthodox conscience as the "Holy Fathers of the Church"; her theologians (*doctores*) seem to stand more in the background.

This second westernized period of Russian Theology is now nearing its end. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Russian theological thought, richly equipped by the achievements of western science, more and more turns to the real sources of its tradition—to the mystical thought of Greece. After many ventures the torn threads are again joined together. Modern Russian Theology continues the work at the point where Byzantium stopped. This return to first sources, to the true self-consciousness of the Christian East, in many regards means a reaction from the immediate past. To the pupils of the old school authentic antiquity often seems to be

modernism, in as much as this neo-Byzantine mystical movement likes to work with the terms of western, pre-eminently German, philosophy. Naturally this tremendous creative work of reviving Eastern theology is carried on by human beings who are, as is always the case, not absolutely free from subjectiveness. Not everything in their teachings is incontestable; it is even permitted to say that much is disputable. Orthodox thought, through this crisis, which is in its nature of a reactionary character, enters upon a period of tempestuous growth, which will undoubtedly be followed by a period of revision, summing up and making definite conclusions. A foreigner who cast a glance at us during this time, would see a conflict of different spiritual movements, which would certainly contradict his conception of the immobility of the East. If he is seeking in this immobility a salvation from his own spiritual restlessness, he will certainly be disappointed. However, it is necessary to believe, and we actually do believe, that it is not a revolution which is going on, but a process of growth and a revival of the great past.

The second question to which I would call your attention as most apt to call forth misunderstandings, is the question of social service. There exists an opinion, even among many Russian Orthodox, that our church avoids this service as being of a too superficial and worldly character, and chooses the "better part," that of contemplation. Undoubtedly the Eastern Church, as well as the Roman Catholic Church, in following the words of Christ, gives preference to the contemplative attitude of Mary, and not to the activity of Martha. Yet the right appreciation of the Orthodox Martha is handicapped by a wrong historical approach. In this respect it is the greatest mistake to judge the Orthodox Church by present conditions. There is no doubt about the weakening of the outward energy of the Greek, and even of the Russian Orthodox Church. The social inactivity of our Church (the "paralysis" of which Dostoevsky spoke) has existed since the reforms of Peter the Great, when the State deprived the Church of nearly all her social functions. In Greece this state of things dates back to the Turkish conquest. Looking back into the past we see in Russia as well as in Greece a very intense social activity. For early mediæval Europe Byzantium could serve as an unattainable example in the work of social assistance carried on by the Church. Hospitals, homes for wanderers, common meals for the poor, were in operation at that time. John Chrysostom in Constantinople, and John the Merciful in Alexandria, and still in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Greek monks, ceaselessly developed this activity, to which we find testimony in the Byzantine monastic rules of the period. John Chrysostom the Apostle of social service, was always highly venerated in Greece as well as in Russia, as one of the greatest Fathers and Teachers of the Church. We see the same appreciation of social Church activity expressed

also in ancient Russia. Our ancient preachers refer most frequently to almsgiving and no monastery refused that help which was regarded as a special form of service rendered to the world. Even the hermit-mystics do not turn away from such action. St. Sergius on his deathbed reminds his brethren—"Be not forgetful to entertain strangers."

Only in more recent times the Russian Church, deprived of the leadership of national life, abandoned the world and withdrew into cells and shrines. The nineteenth century however, shows in this respect, as well as in theology, the symptoms of revival. Beginning with the Slavophil movement of the forties, a distinct and uninterrupted current of church life of a social character can be traced. There is much talk about renewed activity in parish life, of increase in the influence of the Church upon the world, of the inner mission of the Church. This current can be conditionally called the Orthodox-Evangelistic current. It arises in its religious origin from the experience of the Church as the living body of Christ. Although this current has been somewhat compromised since the revolution by the application of its ideas in the Bolshevik "renewed" Church, it continues to exist. And although persecutions and poverty do not favour the development of social activity in the narrow sense of the word, we realize, however, that the very necessity of winning back the masses of the people who have abandoned religion demands of the missionary-preachers new methods of work for the church. We hear about many priests of the Patriarchal Church who unite self-sacrificing service of the Altar with work for the social organization of the parish, and especially with work among young people. In the recent past this social movement in the Russian Church was partly connected with Liberalism (Slavophil liberalism) as the reverse side of the social activity of the Church was her emancipation from the State. This brings before us the question of the connection of Orthodoxy with the national and political life of mankind.

It is evident to everybody nowadays that Orthodoxy sanctions and gives its blessing to the national body, and that in its consciousness the Universal Church is built on the free union of national (local) churches. This Orthodox view of the structure of the Church was not disclosed all of a sudden. In the Byzantine Empire the limits of the Universal and of the national Greek Churches were nearly coincident. The Byzantine Church was not inclined to recognize the autonomy of small national churches; this accounts for the lasting quarrel between the mother Greek Church, and the daughters—the Slavonic Churches. Perhaps it was in ancient feudal Russia that there arose for the first time the idea of a religious predestination of every nation—an idea which was for a long while obscured by another idea—that of Moscow being the third Rome, the heir of Byzantium with its universalistic traditions. Only in the nineteenth

century, after the liberation of Orthodox nationalities from the Turkish yoke, the Orthodox Church finds a definite shape as a system of free (autokephalous) national churches. In this system we see, not the influence of accidental historical circumstances, but the expression of the very idea of the Church ; the community as the correlation of unity and freedom.

The visible representative of the unity of the Orthodox world was for many centuries the Emperor. The Byzantine emperor was not only the emperor of Greece, but also, in the mind of the East, the monarch (Basileus) of the world, the only supreme leader of the Christian world. With regard to the Church the successors of Constantine, who all bore the titles of " Saint " and " Equal to the Apostles," enjoyed not only great administrative power but also a dogmatic-leading authority. It might have seemed to almost everybody that he was essentially necessary to the religious unity of the Orthodox world by occupying in the East a place corresponding to that of the Pope in the West. There were also numerous attempts to give a dogmatic basis to the theory of the Imperial theocracy. There can be no doubt that the idea of an Orthodox Kingdom has penetrated deeply into the religious mind of the East, as well as into the canonical and liturgical life of the Church. The disappearance of the Emperor could not but leave deep wounds in the body of the Church. However, this wound was not wrought in 1917. In fact the year 1453, the date of the fall of Byzantium, represents the beginning of the new order of things. The Russian Tsars, in spite of the idea of inheritance from the Byzantine Empire, did not claim to the same extent dogmatic and didactic power within the Church, as had the Emperors of Byzantium. Outside Russia they did not represent any power whatever, and were only the foreign protectors and benevolent supporters of Orthodox Churches in the East.

It should not be forgotten that in ancient feudal Russia, previous to the fifteenth century, the Orthodox Church had no other head than the Metropolitan who was dependent upon the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Russian nation of this period did not know anything about the power of the Emperor in regard to its Church, and obeyed only the Bishops, who exercised at the time a much greater influence on the national life than they ever did in the subsequent Tsarist period. We may point out in this connection that there existed in the territory of Great Novgorod (that is in half Great Russia) a system which can be described, conditionally, as theocracy based on democratic power. After Peter's reforms, the idea of the sacred kingdom was amalgamated with the western idea of absolutism, the Church being included in the system of general bureaucratic administration. The interference of the State in the affairs of the Church, as has been the case in modern times, was considered by

many church authorities a violation of the freedom of the Church. Therefore many members of the Orthodox Church welcomed the new state of affairs arising in Russia in 1917, the liberation of the Church, although this liberation was but a short (and anxious) prologue to the period of persecution which still continues. But there were also some others who could not accept the loss of the Emperor from the Church body, and this divergence of opinion was one of the sources of the dissensions which still trouble the Russian Church. On the basis of all available information and of personal testimonies, it can now be stated definitely, that in Russia herself the Church as represented by the deceased Patriarch, his lawful successors, and the majority of Church authorities, have abandoned the idea of an integral connection between the Orthodox religion and any form of administrative power. It should and must be admitted that the Orthodox Church knows nothing of the dogma of the Tsar, that is of the indispensable supremacy (leadership) of the Tsar over the Church, and can establish the most various relations with the body politic. At present the Church is entering upon an epoch of creative research which causes, perhaps, some distress, but which does not trouble the depths of Church life. Of the ancient, centuries old, beliefs, two at any rate remain as unshaken principles; the blessing of the Church upon the national life of the people, and the refusal of the Church to wield the "Second sword" (this in contrast to the Papal theocracy) the sword of direct political force. Therein lay the meaning of the Orthodox Empire. The highest meaning of it is evidently the protection of holiness as the summit of spiritual life, aloofness from the world and its doings, and prayer and ascent to God. Living holiness keeps and upholds the Orthodox Church. In the present Bolshevist Russia, as well as in the former Tsarist Russia, there live the ever burning lights of prayer and renunciation known to God alone. In the very structure and type of our present spiritual life we see a wonderful continuity of tradition coming down to us from the very first beginnings of hermit life in the East. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Church did not experience any break in the direction of its holiness corresponding with changing cultures. The historian can only note certain modifications upon close examination. Thus the first religious schools of the East, in Egypt, and Syria, were characterized by nearly superhuman achievements in asceticism and mortification of the flesh. Monastic Palestine and especially Greece softened and rendered more humane this ideal, linking it with social activity in monastic communities. It was in this form that the monastic ideal penetrated into ancient Russia and has been maintained there until now in its chief characteristic features. Our ancient saints, in spite of the severity of their life, did not cut themselves off from the world, and devoted time to

prayer and time to works of love. As characteristically Russian features among them their humble resignation should be noted, their love of poverty, their avoidance of power. It would be wrong to characterize the entire Orthodox, and especially Russian, holiness, as mystical, but one can speak of a particular mystical current within it.

Our church language does not know the word "mystical" and does not define the special idea it implies. In speaking of "spiritual life" the Orthodox means both the ascetic and the mystical life in all their inseparability. In fact Orthodoxy, apparently, is unaware of a special mystical way such as is understood by the Roman Catholic Church. It adopts a severe attitude towards manifestations of the emotional elements in mysticism, does not encourage the longing for visions, for spiritual "softness." It sees in these manifestations spiritual temptations. Its ascetics never try to reach an ecstatic state, but aim at liberation from passions by a slow and steady reconstruction of the psychic nature by its absorption into the spiritual nature. In this process mysticism, that is, contact with God, represents simply the conclusion of the ascetic purification. There existed however in the East a special mystical school which elaborated a system of psycho-physical exercises leading to a beatifying contemplation of God. From Byzantium this teaching penetrated into Russia, but not before the fourteenth century, and found adepts among the followers of St. Sergius of Radonezh, whose spiritual life has remained unknown to the world, but whom, on the evidence of particular spiritual gifts, one is entitled to regard as the first Russian mystic. This school flourished in the North, in what were called the "Trans-Volga" forests, for over a century, and has been interpreted in the writings of St. Nil Sorski. In the first half of the sixteenth century this school was completely destroyed by persecutions which it suffered not for its mystical character, but for its protest against the Church's possession of landed property and against the capital punishment of heretics. In Moscow the victory was won by the severe ascetic and ritualistic tendency which exhausted the Russian Church spiritually, and offers an explanation of the double catastrophe of the seventeenth century; the conservative schism of the old-believers and the easy victory of the western influence represented by the Kiev school of theologians and the imperial power of Peter the Great. However, it is during the Empire period that the forgotten mystical traditions reappear. At first scarcely noticeable, these traditions arise outside the official hierarchy, in great forests where they create centres of new spiritual life, shining later all over Russia, as for instance the hermitages of Optino and of Sarov. In St. Seraphim of Sarov we venerate the true mystic and the greatest saint of Russia.

During and after the revolution, the revival of the Church manifested itself, first of all, in the regeneration of the spiritual, that

is, of the mystical life. And this is perhaps the most important event in Russian present-day life. It is connected with the above-mentioned renewed activity of mystical theology. At the present time there may be some reasons in fact for looking upon Russian Orthodoxy as the mystical Mary.

I do not say much of the liturgical life of Orthodoxy. It is right to see in the Liturgy one of the fundamental supports of Orthodox life and in pointing out some other sides of this life I only wish to counteract the one-sided impression one sometimes meets that there is nothing else but the Liturgy in the East. The liturgical life of Orthodoxy (not the Liturgy itself) also experiences the same regeneration as theology and as spiritual life, both of which are rooted in the Liturgy as their basis. Less evident, perhaps, now is the connection between the liturgical and the social life of the Church—a connection clearly manifested in the past. It cannot be denied that this irregularity, expressed in the attitude of various spiritual tendencies of present-day Orthodoxy towards the liturgical side of life, is the reason of a certain tension between these tendencies. Two fundamental tendencies or currents can be distinguished relatively clearly ; the mystical-liturgical and the social-ethical currents, both true to the Church, and, as I endeavoured to show, both traditional. In the history of the present division in the Russian Church, this tension, together with the political crisis, forms a certain background. But beyond the superficiality of these divisions can clearly be distinguished the immobility of Church tradition. This has been particularly clearly manifested in the revolutionary schism of the " Renewed Church " (" Living Church "). The radical representatives of this current have not dared to attack any single dogma of the Church, and have limited their activity to the destruction of the canonical regulations. But they were obliged to give up even these reforms under the pressure of the religious consciousness of the people. No programme of reformation has been established during the Russian revolution. The regeneration of the Church which we witness at present, as was said by one of our contemporary theologians has the character not of a reformation but of a " Fulfilment " of the Church. The Orthodox Church remains a living and green tree, growing on the hard rock of apostolic tradition. " The tree on the rock "—this is the paradoxical symbol of Orthodoxy.

THE WILDERNESS OF JERUSALEM.

By D. J. Chitty.

(Continued from page 80.)

For nearly a century after the accession of Justin our desert blooms as the monastic heart of an imperial Orthodoxy. The leaders of the old strong times, Saba and Theodosius, survive a few years to see their triumph. But as that organization which had gained strength in resistance to Empire takes its place, as Orthodoxy demands of it, in an Empire which accepts and patronizes it, new dangers arise. Would not the political game of the Royal City pollute even the pure air of the Desert? Saba was not blinded by the glamour. We see him in his last year, in Constantinople, with the circus-girl of the Ravenna mosaics bending before him for a blessing, and receiving a bare blessing, and no hope for her barrenness. He desired no more of the brood of Theodora.

And when he was gone was his place sure? Besides, organization was already perfect enough for lesser men to carry it on. It was the pure Spiritual Life which now needed safeguarding. So the true leadership passes from the Archimandrites who are officially at the head, to the great survivors of the older time away in the Utter Desert. It is the simple hermits, John the Hesychast and Cyriac the Anchorite, upon whom falls the mantle of Saba and Theodosius. And after them a more or less nameless crowd of monks carry on their spirit. The fortress of the monks has already been built. The work of this century is to furnish it and equip it against the long siege to come. On the whole remarkably free, in Palestine, from external controversies, the monks are better able to concentrate on their unchanging function, the science of perfection. One controversy upset the earlier years, but it was internal to the monks in its origins, and its doctrinal nature is significant of the predominant interest. Here the old hermits are seen resisting, under the name of Origenism, the sickly poisons of theosophy. More markedly than in the Monophysite troubles, it is the dangers of the Spiritual Life that are being combated.

It was a strange history. About 513 A.D., four monks were admitted inadvertently to the New Laura near Tekoa, but were soon turned out by the leaders of the old tradition. There is some ground for the suspicion that among them was the author of that strange secret work that lies behind the writings of the Pseudo-Denys—the Syriac *Book of Hierotheos,* whose cosmic speculations reveal to us very clearly the nature and magnitude of the danger. Twenty years later they are back firmly ensconced in the New

Laura, with the support of the representative of the monks at Constantinople—no less a person than the theologian Leontius of Byzantium. For another twenty years, sometimes by force, sometimes by court intrigue, sometimes by blackmailing the Patriarch, the theorists, in spite of an edict of Justinian in 543 A.D. against their heretical teachings, appear triumphant over the monks of the old tradition. We have the picture of Leontius leading the monks down from Tekoa to attack Mar Saba, when a thick mist thwarted them and left them stranded near Bethlehem: or again, the streets of Jerusalem running with blood, as the Sabaites were attacked at their hostelry in the Tower of David, and defended by the Bessic monks from the Jordan Valley. But even Mar Saba was captured for a time by intrigue, and the old monks with John the Hesychast at their head were driven to take refuge again in the Utter Desert. At last the Fifth Council in 553 A.D. brings them triumph.

John the Hesychast had fled from the business of his Asia Minor bishopric, to come incognito to Mar Saba as a simple monk in 492 A.D. What was his consternation when Saba, all unwitting, proposed to take this bishop up to the Patriarch Sallust as a suitable person to be ordained Priest! He lived on, partly in the Utter Desert, partly as a walled-in solitary at Mar Saba, until his death about 558 A.D. His old episcopal powers of leadership were needed in the crisis of the Origenist struggle.

But the absoluteness of Cyriac is the fullest type of our Desert. As a boy of eighteen, about 467 A.D., a reader in the Church of Corinth and nephew of its Bishop, he had heard the words in the Gospel, "Whosoever will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." Quietly he slipped out of Church and down to Cenchreae without telling anyone, and embarked on a boat to Palestine to become a monk. For some sixty years he was in the monasteries, first at the Coenobium of St. Gerasimus, then after his death at Khan el Ahmar, then for forty years at the Laura of Souka. At the age of seventy-seven, when most men begin to think of dying, he went on with a disciple to spend the greater part of the last thirty years of his life as a hermit in the Utter Desert between Tekoa and Engedi, at the junction of two vast waterless ravines in a region which even to the monks seemed utterly pathless and inaccessible. Even here his industry fitted the holes in the rocks, in the absence of cisterns, to collect enough water to last himself and a garden plot through the drought of summer.

This sixth century was the first great literary age of Judæan Monasticism. Its peace encouraged a retrospective view, and the desire to put on record the prowess of old time before the last clear memories of it had faded away. So in the years after the Fifth Council, before the two great survivors were dead, their disciple

Cyril of Scythopolis put together what he had gathered from their lips and from others up and down the Desert, of the great ones, Euthymius and Saba, whom they had known. In his accounts of the events and miracles which followed their death, and in his lives of those others whom he himself knew, he gives us a store of details of contemporary history, and a unique first-hand picture of the life and outlook and environment of the Desert monasteries of his time. Here is no highly educated person, but a simple Palestinian monk with a great love for his desert, reflecting perfectly, as only a monk can, the heart of the simple people of his country with all their traditions and "superstitions" and deep faith. What if some of his miracles admit of less miraculous explanations? They saw miracle in all life: was their view less true than ours? At least it had lasting power. If the same spirit and the same view are the mark of the Desert monk of our day also, it is not that he belongs to a past age, but that both he and Cyril belong to all time. And it is largely thanks to them that the Eastern Church has never lost the orthodoxy of a religion of common people. The hermit and the Holy Places are at the simple heart of the Church, and where they set the tone Orthodöxy cannot be lost.

The same love of the Holy Places shines out now as ever. The romance of the family of St. Xenophon shows us Calvary as the meeting-place of brothers. Moschus has a store of tales in which the Holy Sepulchre is seen supernaturally protected from the entry of those who had not found the true Orthodoxy. And in the life of St. Mary of Egypt its white purity will not admit impurity unrepented of.

The example had been set for Cyril by funeral orations for Theodosius or Theognius: and he himself was quickly followed by many others, biographers or romancers, in whom the commemoration of saints is made the vehicle of spiritual instruction. At the same time apophthegms of the Fathers continue to be collected. And system is being given to the ascetic theology of the monks. Down in Sinai, St. John of the Ladder is producing that great and bony work which still forms the Lenten reading of every Orthodox monk. And in Palestine there are the Abba Dorotheus and others.

For half a century after the Fifth Council, history is largely silent. It was a time of quiet flourishing, in which in the ordinary course of events the desert was becoming still more densely peopled with the monks; and a crowd of monasteries, hitherto unknown, meet us in the pages of John Moschus, answering to that multitude of ruins up and down the wilderness for which we have no sure identification to-day. This John Moschus was the Palladius of the Judæan Desert, and his anthology is indeed the kind of book most suited to such a time of peace.

But the name of John Moschus brings to our mind another greater name, that of his younger friend Sophronius.

Sophronius had been a monk at the monastery of St. Theodosius. The poet and the most literary writer of this period of the Judæan Church, he aims in his lives at the summing up in perfect form of all his Desert had stood for. And if any would cast a doubt on the historical accuracy of, say, the Life of St. Mary of Egypt, this would trouble us little. For no work has succeeded so well in handing down to other ages and other lands the true spirit of our Desert's history.

And it was such a summing up that was supremely necessary at this time. For St. Sophronius stands out for us as the link between two worlds.

One biography, that of St. George of Choziba, gives us the hermit's picture of that transition. We see the saint in the flourishing time of the Desert, in the security of Empire, when hermits were spreading through every valley, and the Desert was full of angels and blossoming as the rose. Then of a sudden comes the crash of the Persian Invasion (614 A.D.).

The terror which went before it set the monks in flight and the Bedouin in readiness for plunder. A week before the sack of Jerusalem the Bedouin attacked Mar Saba and massacred the remnant of its monks. In one of its offshoots was a hermit, John, living with his disciple. The latter begged his master to tell him what was to become of the troubles. The old man feigned ignorance, but when his disciple pressed him he related a vision that God had sent him five days before. He had found himself upon Calvary, and all the people and clergy were crying the Kyrie Eleison. "And gazing I see Our Lord Jesus Christ nailed to the Cross and the All-Holy Mother of God, the Mistress of the World, beseeching for the people. And He was rejecting the people, saying, 'I will not hear them, for they have defiled my sanctuary.' And after crying the Kyrie Eleison with tears and groanings, we went into the church of Holy Constantine (the Martyrium), crying there too the Kyrie Eleison. And I too entered in with the clergy in the sanctuary; and when I went to worship in the place where was found the precious wood of the Life-giving Cross, I saw mud coming out into the church. And there were there two reverend old men standing by, and I said to them, 'Do you not fear God, that we are not even able to pray because of the mud? Whence is the evil odour lying here?' And they said, 'From the iniquities of the clerics of this place.' And I said to them, 'And are you not able to cleanse it, so that we may be permitted to pray?' And they said, 'Believe, brother, what is here shall in no wise be cleansed save through fire.' So far the vision." And the old man saying this wept and said to his disciple, "And I say this to thee, child,

that the sentence has gone forth that I should be beheaded; and I greatly besought God that I might be pardoned and He revealed to me that altogether it is to happen; and He alone knows that I never shed blood upon the earth." And as they were speaking behold the barbarians came upon them; and the disciple fled in panic, but they took the old man and slew him and went away at a run; and the disciple coming and seeing his old man dead, wept bitterly, and took him and buried him with the Fathers.

The Persians came and went, and with them went the True Cross and the Patriarch into captivity. As they went across Jordan and away to Damascus the monks of Chozibaa heard voices of the Mother of God and all the Saints escorting the True Cross into exile. Gradually the monks crept back from their hiding-places, and some of the monasteries became inhabited again. But not as of old. The monks were huddled together now in a few great monasteries, and the cells and the lesser monasteries were deserted, except when Lent brought back a memory of the past. For the old security was gone, and the land was full of terror. The Desert had once been full of saints and angels. Now every valley was filled with wild beasts and evil spirits.

But we must not leave our story on this note. The work of the monks goes on. Already in the midst of the disaster, the account of the massacre at Mar Saba forms but the introduction to one of the standard ascetic compilations, the Pandect of the Monk Antiochus. In a few years Modestus is restoring the Holy Places, and Sophronius making Jerusalem once more the fortress of Orthodoxy against the Monothelite compromise of Heraclius. He is gathering together the remnants of old times, arranging the Typikon of St. Saba and the service books of Jerusalem. For, though the True Cross returns, Heraclius' triumph is but a passing phase, and Sophronius must crown his life by arranging the terms of submission to Omar. So he sets the type for a new tragic era; and our Desert goes forward to a time of perhaps even greater if more sombre glory.

[*To be continued.*]

RELIGION AND THE SOVIETS.

(*Concluded.*)

III

The re-establishment of the Patriarchate in 1917, after it has been suppressed for nearly two centuries, encouraged hopes that some of the needed changes could be introduced and the Church adapted to the new order. The storm of Bolshevism made the problem of existence paramount, but it could not deny the other problem. Some of the most zealous advocates of change sought to profit by the

confusion. In this some of the leaders were sincere; others were mere opportunists. Still others—and in this they were not unlike the religious reformers in England in the sixteenth century—were unbelieving adventurers interested in acquiring for themselves material rewards and the material property of the Church. All these classes had their chance in the days of the persecutions.

The Soviet authorities realized how much the cause of religion could be hurt in these disputes. They soon began to smile upon them and the group of men who accepted the Soviet Government formed what was known as the Living Church. It found support in responsible quarters and very soon it had received permission to take over most of the important urban churches. Its faith is very familiar in religious history. Attacks on the hierarchy, the saints, the general usages—a mere Russian variety of the extremists of the sixteenth century, starting from an Orthodox instead of a Latin creed. It will be noted that this Church did not deny the episcopate, although it abrogated at once all the rules concerning the choice of bishops.

This first step was followed by increasing disintegration in the ranks of the Living Church as well as the Orthodox, as each new reformer endeavoured to add his own particular brand of reform and each new reform secured a sympathetic hearing from the Soviet authorities. They could feel perfectly sure that it was only a question of time when complete destruction of the Orthodox Church would be effected and when these quarrelling cults would themselves vanish.

Up to this point the Church had made no effective resistance. The Patriarch Tikhon was in prison or under close surveillance in his home. The bishops and clergy were being exiled or executed with disturbing regularity. It seemed that any move would culminate in the complete destruction of the Church. Charges of counter-revolution were always available when desired against members of all religious bodies, since teaching religion to children was a counter-revolutionary act, and many normal processes of the religious life were subject to the same interpretation.

At the same time there was a dangerous growth of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in various quarters. Some of the less resolute characters, desirous of continuing their religious affiliations but seeking to find a comparative haven of safety, began to drop away or to seek a more or less halting support outside of the Church.

We still do not know the truth about the general course of development, and we can say reverently that Divine Providence is about the most satisfactory answer that can be given. The processes at work seem so unworthy of the goal, and so thoroughly illogical is the entire course of history, that any statement must approach the ridiculous.

The Church had almost broken down into an era of Congregationalism. Many of the priests took up the reforms because they had to. They were dependent on their parishioners and on their own labours for their support. Some of the monasteries had endeavoured to turn themselves into labour communes. In some cases they succeeded and merely had to give up the right to receive gifts from the faithful. In others the government checked the attempt by forcing them to enroll other labourers who had no religious interest.

The peasants, devoted with a stolid tenacity to the old order, refused to accept the new ritual acts. As in the seventeenth century they had often forced the priests to use the old books through this negative attitude, so now they refused to accept the sacraments, if they were not performed in the old way. The movement lacked a definite leader. It had no policy, no coherence, no programme, no goal. It effected its purpose, though it had none. Many of the hesitating priests began to use the old forms in order to build up their parishes and in many cases to increase their own income. But a reformed church with old services was a contradiction in terms. Almost automatically it began to drift toward the old Church. The more sincere and intelligent men who had been swept into the new movements came to see that they had made a mistake and by the same disorderly process by which they had left the Church, they drifted back, for we must not forget that the overwhelming majority of the clergy in the new movements had orders from the old Church.

IV

At the same time the world was startled to hear that the Patriarch had submitted to the government. When the first news of this was issued in 1927 it was commonly supposed that it was a piece of Soviet propaganda and was repudiated by the Russian Church among the emigration. Some who believed it assumed that the Patriarch had been broken and was doing it to save his own life. There can be no doubt that this submission of the Patriarch to the atheistic government hurt the old man badly. It meant in a way that the Church had lost hope for the re-establishment of a Christian government in Russia. It was the same as the voluntary submission to the Mongol or the Turkish yoke on the part of other Christians.

Nevertheless the result was astounding. The Patriarch became more isolated from the emigration, but he destroyed the opposition Church. He had not wavered a particle from the path which he had mapped out. His submission meant not that the Church had committed itself to the doctrine of atheism but that non-Russian Christianity had failed its brothers. Peace was the great goal of humanity and what did the Patriarch and the martyr Church of

Russia mean to a prosperous Church that was eager for world peace? Nothing. By 1923 the Patriarch saw clearly that not one branch of the Christian Church would encourage a single shot in behalf of what they all preferred to call Christian civilization. Thus abandoned by all he took the only step possible. He asked the Church to accept persecution as its normal basis for existence.

Almost instantaneously the Living Church broke. Priest after priest, bishop after bishop, parish after parish made its submission. Men who but a few months before were calling for the execution of the Patriarch were kneeling to ask his blessing. Only the leaders of the Living Church and the other movements, those men who knew that for them there would have to be a complete surrender of their titles and perquisites, held out and continued to struggle. Before the submission of the Patriarch he had only one church in Moscow. After, he received back most of the important ones. In vain the leaders of the Living Church tried to renew charges of counter-revolution. The Patriarch Tikhon died in the spring of 1925, a real Confessor, if not a martyr for the Faith.

With the death of Tikhon a new series of struggles ensued. Tikhon had left by will the appointment of Peter, Metropolitan of Krutits, as Patriarchal *locum tenens*, and he appointed in his place the Metropolitan Sergy. Many of the bishops who had submitted to Tikhon refused to accept this arrangement and organized a Council of their own which was loyal to Tikhon and not to his successors. There ensued another period of turmoil but already of a different character. It was a struggle between two parties in the Orthodox Church. Neither boasted of being counter-revolutionary and both professed loyalty to the old Church. This period ended in the final recognition of the Metropolitan Sergy in 1928 and the preparation of a Concordat with the Soviet Government.

At the present time it seems clear that the struggle that the Church has been making has been definitely won. The time seems to be past when schisms and reforms and parties will be able to destroy the Church and nullify its work. On the other hand this does not mean most assuredly that the persecution has stopped. It does not mean that the arrests, imprisonments and executions of leaders of the Church on false or unjust charges have necessarily come to an end. In fact the reverse is probably true. There are still many of the best men in prison. The clergy are still suffering under all the restrictions that have been laid upon them. The laws which forbid religious instruction to children are still in force. There is still a strong and active government-supported campaign against religion and especially against the Orthodox Church. The general machinery of the Church is still ineffective. The bishops who compose the Synod are still liable to arrest. They still cannot act and move freely as befits their own judgment.

The Church does not have the membership that it had before. Christianity, in the words of the late Fr. Figgis, has come to mean more than a formal wedding and a magnificent funeral. People who do not want religion do not need to find excuses for not having it and unbelief is as fashionable as indifferent belief used to be.

In a word the last ten years have definitely shown that the Church has gone back to the catacombs. It has been stripped of those accessories which it acquired in the days of Constantine the Great. It has been turned into a religious institution with its own system of organization. The Roman Emperors could not prevent the organization of the Christians in one form or another. There was always some loophole of the law under which the Christians could carry on an underground and semi-legal existence. This is as true to-day as it was then. The Church has found ways of holding property; and satisfying the letter of the law, it has found new ways of controlling and disciplining its membership; it has found new ways of adapting itself to the problem of existence. The chief weapon of the Government is to-day as then actual physical violence to the leaders of the Church, to such of its members as it can seize, and, as then, such methods may carry with them their own undoing.

There was a time when it seemed that part of the Church might secede, might split into fractions. There was a time when it seemed as if Christianity was doomed. The prevention of that was the work of the Patriarch Tikhon who successfully led the Church from the government into persecution by refusing to take part in the political struggles. The Orthodox Church is still the Christian Church of Russia and the process of adaptation will go on without a breach of continuity—that can be said to-day with certainty.

> In wishing to carry on warfare after the flesh, we forget that not the form of the Soviet governmental system *per se* is terrible, but the desolating antichristian spirit of materialism. The forms of the Soviet system are gradually changing; they will undoubtedly change more; of course, this system can suddenly disappear and be replaced by any other. The Church cannot in this be concerned in the reorganization of foreign commerce, the return of the right of private property and such questions, for its chief aim and care is the guarding of the national soul. It is important and necessary for it to unite Russia spiritually and to free it spiritually in Christ, and not to establish a democratic republic, a constitutional or an absolute monarchy.

This passage from *Put* sums up the situation. Western Christianity and Western civilization refused definitely to secure for the Russian Church and Russia a system based on Christian ideals. The Russian Church at frightful cost has reconstituted itself on a spiritual basis to care for the religious needs of the Russian people. It cannot consider the political and external sides of their life, and with this limitation and with the realization that it is subject to unlimited persecution from the forces of atheism and irreligion and perhaps of new religions, we can feel confident that the Church in its policy has rounded the corner and that the future existence of Christianity in Russia is assured.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN IKON-PAINTING.

By C. F. L. ST. GEORGE.

THIS short article does not profess to be the result of deep historical study. It is written up from notes made at various times in the course of a reading on the subject that I have made as wide as possible, and represents the interest of the amateur rather than the technical researches of the expert.

It is extremely difficult to give a full history of the Russian ikon, as the subject is still obscure; its literature is very inaccessible, and collections of Russian ikons are rare outside Russia.

It was not till 1905, or so, that, under the guidance of the Russian archæologists of the school of Kondakov, the process began of cleaning old ikons from later layers of varnish and paint which revealed their unsuspected beauty and colour, and virtually a new art discovered. Sir Martin Conway, in *The Art Treasures of Soviet Russia*, published in 1925, tells us that this work has been carried on and developed on an unprecedented scale since the Russian Revolution. Until this work has been completed, it will be impossible to say the last word on the Russian ikon.

Kondakov tells us that among representational arts, the ikon took the first place in Russian life. Apart from the early Novgorod wall-paintings, we may call the ikon the chief expression of religious thought and popular feeling even in the fourteenth century. Later, when wall-painting became subordinate to ikon-painting, the ikon became the one and only symbol of faith.

It is most important to recognize the æsthetic limitations and spiritual purpose of the ikon.

Prayer was a recognized part of the ikon-painter's training, and his work was regarded as a religious exercise as well as an artistic one. The ikon-painter was not concerned with depicting depth of space or interested in problems of perspective, but in decorating a surface by the disposition of mass, colour, and line. Ikons aim at giving a likeness, not only of the external appearance of the represented persons, but also of their spiritual character.

Every painting of a religious subject is not an ikon, but only such as expresses the feeling of the Church as a whole. It is not merely the individual creation of a particular artist, but an evidence of the vision of the entire Church.

The true home of the ikon was the Christian East.

It originated in the custom of placing a panel portrait of a martyr or confessor on his tomb or shrine. Such portraits attracted in time a part of the honour due to their memory. We find the ikon as an adjunct to worship as early as the time of St. John Chrysostom or St. Gregory of Nyssa.

This ancient stage of the ikon's history is connected with the

custom of the ancient Egyptians of slipping a similar panel portrait under the mummy bands over the face of the mummy. Among other features that can be attributed to these Egyptian portraits are the dark colouring to be found in certain types of Russian ikons, and that ikons of the Virgin and Saints always face the worshipper.

The Byzantine ikon, which took its rise in the fifth or sixth centuries, was the model copied by the Russian ikon-painters. But it must be remembered that the Byzantine ikon was brought to a sudden stop by the growth in the eighth century of the ikonoclastic movement, which so thoroughly exterminated Byzantine art that we can do no more than guess about it, and search out traces of the originals in the productions of later times. None of the pre-ikonoclastic ikons enter, therefore, into the history of Russian ikon-painting. Kondakov asserts that there is no single example of Byzantine ikon-painting older than the ninth century, and that Russians would see and copy no ikons until the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Byzantine ikon went through the following stages of development, which had their influence on Russian ikon-painting.

The Greek, or purely Byzantine style of ikon-painting, gave way to the Greco-Oriental, this to the Greco-Italian, and finally to the Neo-Greek style.

The purely Byzantine style was remarkable for its bright colouring, the so-called folk-colours, bright red (vermilion) and light green predominating.

Kondakov asserts that the Russian ikon, from first to last, drew its inspiration from Greco-Oriental models, these models coming at first from Egypt and Syria and later from Asia Minor, which had from early times adopted the Greco-Oriental style. The models from Egypt and Syria were remarkable from the beginning by their deep, rich, warm and, at the same time, most artistic colouring. The ikons, which are known in Russia as Korsun, are marked by similar colouring, namely, dark chocolate or brown, upon a buff ground. These came to Russia from Chersonesus, Taurica, Caffa, and Trebizond in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and were copies of Greco-Oriental ikons.

We now come to the Greco-Italian style.

Kondakov has a theory that at the end of the fourteenth century an Italo-Cretan school arose under Italian influence. This was known in its earlier period as Greco-Italian. It derived, of course, from the Greco-Oriental schools, and its ikons had the same characteristics, except that there was in addition a special softness of touch, and a new expressiveness in the faces of sacred persons.

But with regard to Italian influence on Russian ikon-paintings there are differences of opinion.

Dr. E. H. Minns, translator of Kondakov's *The Russian Ikon*,

quotes the following from a letter to him from Mr. Dalton: "There was a criss-cross of inextricable currents, a stirring of the waters all over the place. . . . I rather hold with those who think the Italian influence more superficial and partial, the East-Christian tradition being firmly established below. . . . A curious thing about the Italian influence is, that the Greeks apparently took no notice whatever of Giotto and his suite, but in the full fourteenth century, and even in the fifteenth, stuck to the thirteenth century Italian details—when they stuck to any. This, I suppose, was the Italian art that their own people had helped to form on Italian soil."

Muratov, leader of another school of critics, reminds us that independently of Italian influence there had been a renaissance of Byzantine art in the fourteenth century.

Kondakov would have us believe that the Byzantine tradition of ikon-painting in passing to Russia had fallen from the level of an art to that of a mere handicraft, now and then stimulated into life by pre-Renaissance paintings imported from Italy. The contention that Russian ikon-painting was a creative development of the Byzantine tradition has greatly been strengthened by the discovery that numbers of Russian and Greek masterpieces can now be given dates previous to the beginning of Italian pre-Renaissance painting; this discovery having been brought about by clearing away successive repaintings and laying bare the original works of art. It must be remembered that the repainting of ikons very often changed not only details and colouring, but the general design so completely as to present an entirely different picture to later generations.

In the case of the famous Vladimir ikon of the Virgin at Moscow, Kondakov, disregarding its traditional age and judging from the ikonography alone, assigned it to the fourteenth century. But since the late layers of paint and varnish have been cleared away, it has now been established that it is the original Greek painting brought by Andrew Bogolyubsky with him to Vladimir about 1140. This is an interesting discovery, as it proves that the "Our Lady's Tenderness" (Umilenie) type of ikon, in which the Holy Child is represented clinging to His Mother, who appears to shelter him from the sufferings which He is to endure, sometimes symbolized by the instruments of the Passion, was already in Greece before 1140, and cannot be due to Italian influence.

We now come to the history of the development of ikon-painting in Russia, the use of ikons having been introduced there with Christianity by Vladimir on his marriage with Anna, daughter of the Emperor of Byzantium, at the end of the tenth century.

A very good summary is given by Muratov, author of "Les Icones Russes." He divides it into three periods: the Byzantine period (1000-1250), corresponding to the Kiev and Novgorod age in Russian civilization; the Novgorod period (1250-1500), in which a

Russian character was given to the art; and finally the Moscow period (1500-1700), which could be called "The Age of the Tsars."

The Kiev period of Russian civilization has left us no ikons.

With the decline of Kiev in the twelfth century and the transference of power to Suzdal, two schools of ikon-painting became evident, one with its centre at Suzdal and Vladimir, and the other at Novgorod.

The Novgorod and Suzdal schools have left us examples of ikon-painting. Kondakov tells us that although the Novgorod school is more fully represented as far as the number of its ikons, it comes second to that of Suzdal, which stood highest in artistic skill from the earliest times of ikon-painting. The Suzdal school was ultimately based upon the wall-paintings of the many churches built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It supplied Moscow and, since the sixteenth century, even Novgorod and Pskov with ikons. Much was due to the princes of the Suzdal region, who were richer and better educated than the churchwardens of Novgorod, and, as Kondakov quotes from the Chronicle, "brought together craftsmen from all lands."

It was not until the fifteenth century that, in the leading schools of Novgorod and Suzdal, a Russian character was given to the ikon. The most famous ikon-painter of this period was Andrew Rublev. This artist brought life to the Byzantine type without losing its characteristic strength, and also created new types which informed religious art with a new spiritual significance.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the range of subjects was extended to include a number of mystical and didactic schemes unknown to Byzantium, the general tendency being towards an exaggeration of tallness and slenderness of bodily proportions, and as regards colour, dark tones gave way to light ones.

We next come to the period of the Moscow School. It made its own the best traditions of the school of Rublev and of the Suzdal School. In the sixteenth century the ikon-painting shops of Pskov and Novgorod were transferred to Moscow, so the best traditions of these schools were assimilated too. The principal characteristics of the Moscow school were an enlarged stock of ikonographic schemes taking in subjects in favour all over Russia, and elaboration of decoration and colour.

Some critics declare that the next school of ikon-painting, the Stroganov, includes all Moscow ikons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This school was remarkable for its lavish use of gold, also for an over-elaborate calligraphic and miniature style, which Dr. Minns and Sir Martin Conway are inclined to ascribe to Eastern (Persian or Indian) influence. The Stroganovs, who kept their own workshops for ikon-painting, were commercial magnates of North and East Russia, and great builders and decorators of churches.

In the middle of the seventeenth century decadence began to set

in. The close of the seventeenth century is regarded as ending the history of ikon-painting. It was during this period that the traditional type of ikon, with its characteristic strength, gave way to the Fryaz, or semi-European style, an unsatisfactory compromise which can best be described as being more like ordinary painting. The chief reason for adopting this new method of ikon-painting was its greater quickness of execution. To copy the old ikonic types required great patience and skill, while the new method only required the general modelling of the body, face, etc. It was also during this period that the regrettable practice became popular of covering the ikon with a plate of metal, called a *riza* or vestment, showing the folds of garments, etc., in slight relief, and leaving only the face and hands uncovered. This became universal in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The eighteenth century was a period of complete oblivion as regards ikon-painting. During the nineteenth century interest revived; encouraged only by the obstinate survival of such a forgotten art among the people, in the home-practised (kustarny) crafts of settlements devoted to skilled trades.

Of late years, ikon-painting had been brought almost to a hopeless position owing to enterprising firms, who made tins for blacking, etc., printing the better-known types of ikons in colour on tin plates.

The Russian Revolution of 1918 put an end to the art, as ikon-painting is now forbidden by the Soviet Government in Russia.

A. AND E.C.A. NOTES.

THE 65th Anniversary of the Association will be held on Wednesday, 16th October, 1929. The Divine Liturgy will be sung at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Bayswater, at 11 o'clock. In the afternoon, at 5.30, the Rt. Honble. Sir Samuel Hoare, will preside over a meeting at Denison House (Vauxhall Bridge Road, close to Victoria Station). Sir Bernard Pares, K.B.E., will speak on "The Church in Russia To-day," and Mons. N. Klepinin, who belongs to the Russian Academy in Paris, will give an account of the important work of that Institution for the supply of Russian Clergy. This Meeting will be preceded as usual by the Annual Business Meeting at five o'clock. A supply of inexpensive ikons recently received from Finland will be on sale.

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There can be little doubt that for the next few years the most pressing and probably the most discussed question in ecclesiastical affairs will be "Reunion." Paper and ink and spoken words will be lavishly expended. We are, therefore, all the more glad to be able to announce that a London centre for the devotional side of the work of the Association has at last been found. Prebendary Russell, the

Rector of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, has appointed the General Secretary as Priest in Charge, with the understanding that the Church (in addition to its normal activities) will be used for that purpose. Prayers for the Reunion of Christendom, the Office of the Association, Prayers for the Russian Church, and other Intercessions for our work, are said at St. Clement's *daily* (except Saturdays) at 12.10, and again (to meet the needs of varying luncheon hours) at 1.10.

A Low Mass with hymns, with intention for Reunion and the work of A. and E.C.A. is said on Tuesdays at 12.30.

From time to time, as announced, Lectures and Addresses will be given after the midday Prayers.

St. Clement's is centrally situated at the junction of Clement's Lane and King William Street and close to Cannon Street, Monument, and Bank Stations.

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The Revd. Fr. Behr spoke at a Meeting in the Library at Highfield Park on June 17th, when a large number of members and friends of A. and E.C.A. were entertained to tea by Mrs. Moss. Fr. Behr's paper on the spiritual life and outlook of the Russian people, and their view of the Bolshevik persecution, was listened to with great attention. Later in the day he accompanied the General Secretary to St. Barnabas Parish Party and spoke to the people, contrasting that free and happy gathering of parishioners during their Patronal Festival with the crippled and oppressed condition of Church life in Russia.

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The Archdeacon of Canterbury presided at a Meeting at Lower Hardres Rectory on July 31st, which was attended by the Rural Dean, the Warden of St. Augustine's College, and in spite of pouring rain, quite a good number of others. Fr. Behr again accompanied the General Secretary, and both of them spoke at the meeting. Afterwards all adjourned to the Rectory, where tea was very hospitably provided by Mrs. Middleton; and later still the warden of St. Augustine's took Fr. Behr to see the recent excavations near the College, and the remains of seventh century Saxon Christianity. We are glad to say that at this Meeting the Archdeacon of Canterbury and several others joined the Association.

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The Russian Bishop Tykhon of Berlin, and the Bishop of Masasi have become Hon. Vice-Presidents of the Association. The Reverend Fr. Puller, S.S.J.E., that veteran worker in the field of Anglo-Orthodox friendship, who, we regret to say can no longer attend meetings of the Committee, has accepted the same office, and so has Dr. Pullan. Serbian friends especially will have heard with deep regret of Dr. Pullan's ill-health and will join with his many English friends in wishing him a speedy and complete recovery.

IKON PRESENTED BY THE PATRIARCH AND SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO ARCHBISHOP LORD DAVIDSON.